

πρωτον ἢ ἐν τῇ Νικαίῳ πάλαι συνηγμένῃ τῶν ἀγίων ὀρθοδόξων σύνοδος, ὡν τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν ἐπαρχῶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὑποτεταγμένα. The mention of Photinus shows that the origin of the note must be decidedly posterior to the date of the Nicene Council.

3. ON EUSEBIUS OF VERCELLI.

THE following notes on Eusebius of Vercelli make no claim to express in any sense settled opinions; they are only intended to serve, if it may be, as starting-points for those more familiar than myself with the Latin dogmatic literature of the fourth and fifth centuries. But at least this much may be said confidently, that Eusebius must have been a more important personage than we are accustomed to think.

1. The authorship and date of the Creed *Quicumque vult* have always been matter of dispute, but the amount of labour which has been devoted to their elucidation during the last five and twenty years ought to be bringing us near to a final solution of the problem. A generation ago it was possible—though no doubt even then only under the influence of strong prejudices—to defend a date as late as the eighth century. Such a view seems quite antiquated now, when scholars have learnt to discuss the historical questions of date and authorship of the Creed without reference to its suitability or unsuitability for public recitation. Even the ascription to Hilary of Arles (c. 440 A.D.) in Waterland's classical treatise brings it down too late in the view of the best recent investigators. Mr. Ommanney selects a slightly earlier date with the authorship of Vincent of Lerins; Mr. Burn sees no trace of reference to Nestorianism, and pushes the formula back to the decade 420-430 A.D., and to the authorship of Honoratus of Arles; Dr. Kattenbusch sees similarly no trace of the influence of St. Augustine, and moves back a decade further still, c. 415 A.D. The two last-named scholars appear to agree in limiting the heresies principally combated to Sabellianism, Arianism, Macedonianism, and Apollinarianism. Pending a completely satisfactory theory—a hint thrown out in the *Revue Bénédictine* suggests that we may look for something final from Dom Morin and his coadjutors—it may not be amiss to call attention to the statement, precise in one sense if confused in another, of an anonymous mediaeval writer.

In the Irish *Liber Hymnorum* lately published by the Henry Bradshaw Society occurs a statement (ii p. 92) attached to the *Quicumque* to the effect that 'The synod of Nicaea made this Catholic faith: three bishops of them alone made it, viz. Eusebius and Dionysius et nomen tertii nescimus,' &c. I cannot doubt that the two bishops

named are meant for Eusebius of Vercelli and Dionysius of Milan, both of whom were exiled by Constantius about A.D. 355-356 for refusing to condemn Athanasius. Of the fate of the latter nothing seems known; the former assisted in the great Alexandrine synod of A.D. 362, was restored soon afterwards to his see, and is said to have died about A.D. 375. As is well known, the Codex Vercellensis (a) of the Old Latin Gospels is traditionally attributed to his hand. In the parallel case of the *Te Deum* the notice of the same *Liber Hymnorum* runs (ii p. 22), 'Niceta, successor of Peter, made this canticle, and in Rome it was made,' &c. The true author of the *Te Deum* was probably Bishop Niceta of Remesiana in Dacia, c. A.D. 400, and the confusion of his see with Rome—*Remesianae civitatis, Romanae civitatis*—occurs also elsewhere.

Now if the Irish Book has in this involved way preserved traces of a true record of the authorship of the *Te Deum*, may not the case be exactly parallel for the *Quicumque*? The connexion with Nicaea must be wrong: but may not the name of Eusebius be right?

To make the Eusebian authorship possible, it would be necessary to prove first that Dr. Kattenbusch is right as against Mr. Burn in making the Creed earlier than St. Augustine. I am wholly without such special knowledge as would entitle me to intervene in this discussion, but I may note that Mr. Burn himself writes (*Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 146) that he has 'often wondered whether the following sentence referred to a formal profession'; 'Sed in ea nonnulli perturbantur cum audiunt Deum Patrem et Deum Filium et Deum Spiritum sanctum, et tamen hanc Trinitatem non tres Deos sed unum Deum' (*De Trinitate* I v 8).

It would be necessary next to show as against both Mr. Burn and Dr. Kattenbusch that there is nothing to prevent our pushing back the Creed as much as a generation before St. Augustine. As regards the subject-matter of the Creed, the heresies against which these two scholars agree that it was directed were all condemned by that Alexandrine synod of A.D. 362 at which Eusebius, as we have seen, was present. There, if not before, he must have mastered the theology of Athanasius, to reproduce it perhaps later on for the West in the form of the Athanasian Creed: at least it is worth noting that in describing the confession of this synod, Rufinus falls almost into the very language of the *Quicumque*: 'ut eiusdem substantiae ac deitatis, cuius Pater et Filius, etiam Spiritus sanctus crederetur, nec quicquam prorsus in Trinitate aut creatum aut inferius posteriusue diceretur' (*H. E.* x 29).

One difficulty, such as it is, would find an easy solution if the conjecture here thrown out as to the authorship of the Creed is correct. The attribution to St. Athanasius of a statement of the Faith composed

on the basis of his teaching by his friend and contemporary Eusebius of Vercelli would be the most natural thing in the world.

2. When working at the MSS of canons in the Vatican Library this spring, I had occasion to examine Vaticanus 1319, a MS of the twelfth century. It contains at the end some portions (Books I II VI VII) of the writing *de Trinitate* printed under the name of the late fifth-century writer, Vigilus of Thapsus, and between Books II and III (VI of 'Vigilius') occurs the name 'Sancti Eusebii.' I now find that the same phenomenon had attracted Dom Morin's attention, and that he has discussed the question in the *Revue Bénédictine* for January 1898, giving the additional information that Eusebius is also named as author in the list that heads the volume. He is decidedly of opinion that the *terminus a quo* for Books I-VII of 'Vigilius' *de Trinitate* need not be brought down later than the Council of Rimini in A.D. 359, and appears to think not unfavourably of the chances that Eusebius of Vercelli may be the real author.

Yet another topic therefore demanding consideration is this work of pseudo-Vigilius on the Trinity, both in relation to other documents and also in relation to the *Quicumque* itself. It is in the hope that some one may throw light on all these questions that I have ventured to print this note.

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